

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02
SS-15 USIA-06 SSM-03 COME-00 EB-07 LAB-04 SIL-01
IO-13 DHA-02 /098 W
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R 311405Z MAY 77
FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6405
INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS
AMEMBASSY JIDDA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TEL AVIV 3828

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, PFOR, IS
SUBJECT: CONVERSATION WITH ARYE DULZIN

1. ON MAY 28 I HAD LUNCH WITH ARYE DULZIN, NUMBER TWO
IN BOTH THE LIBERAL PARTY AND THE JEWISH AGENCY (TREASURER),
AND, UNTIL THE BOMBSHELL OF THE DAYAN APPOINTMENT, A LEADING
CANDIDATE FOR FOREIGN MINISTER. DULZIN IS A BIG THOUGH
NOT TALL, MAN WITH LEONINE HEAD (HIS NAME MEANS LION),
SHAGGY EYEBROWS AND EXPRESSIVE FACE. HIS VOICE, ACCENT
AND LOOKS, FAINTLY REMIND OF AKIM TAMIROFF.

2. MUCH OF THE CONVERSATION DWELT ON RECENT ZIONIST
HISTORY, WITH DULZIN PROVIDING ANECDOTES AND SKETCHES ON
EVENTS AND PERSONALITIES AND, THROUGH IT ALL, DEMONSTRATING
AN ACTIVE SENSE OF HUMOR. HE SAY THE RECENT ELECTION
AS A WATERSHED MARKING THE END OF AN ERA. LABOR'S
DISINTEGRATION BEGAN LONG AGO, AND WAS ACCELERATED
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BY THE YOM KIPPUR WAR, BUT THE PROCESS WAS INEXORABLE.
GOLDA'S LEADERSHIP AND THE PROMISE OF GENEVA GAVE
LABOR ANOTHER WIN IN 1973 DESPITE THE TRAUMA OF THE
YOM KIPPUR WAR. UNLIKE DAYAN AND OTHERS, GOLDA'S
AUTHORITY DID NOT CRUMBLE WITH THE BITTER REACTION
TO THAT WAR. HER MATRIARCHAL NICHE, THOUGH ASSALED,
WAS TOO SECURE TO BE WIPED OUT BY THE EVENT. BEN

GURION AND GOLDA WERE LEADERS WITH THE MORAL FORCE TO OVERCOME MOST OPPOSITION; BEGIN MAY BE ANOTHER.

3. THE LABOR PARTY'S EARLIER SUCCESS OWED MUCH TO ITS POLITICAL MACHINE. ARRIVING WAVES OF IMMIGRANTS VOTED LABOR BECAUSE IT WAS THE AGENCY THAT BROUGHT THEM TO ISRAEL. THE IMMIGRANTS WERE HOUSED AND GIVEN JOBS AND THEN THEY VOTED LABOR OUT OF GRATITUDE. SOON THEY HAD A VESTED INTEREST IN KEEPING LABOR IN POWER. THEN IT WAS THE FORCE OF BEN GURION'S AND GOLDA'S PERSONALITY THAT KEPT THEM IN LABOR'S CORNER. THOSE FACTORS HAVE MORE OR LESS VANISHED.

4. DULZIN THOUGHT THAT THE DAYAN APPOINTMENT WOULD BE REVERSED AND IMPLIED THAT IT WOULD HAPPEN AT THE MAY 29 MEETING OF THE LIKUD EXECUTIVE. (NOTE: HE WAS WHISTLING IN THE DARK AS EVENTS SUBSEQUENTLY SHOWED.) THE PROBLEM WAS NOT SO MUCH THE DMC'S NEGATIVE REACTION BUT THE UPROAR IN THE LIBERAL PARTY. BEGIN HAD CONSULTED NO ONE OUTSIDE HIS IMMEDIATE CIRCLE. EHRLICH KNEW SOMETHING OF BEGIN'S INTENTION, BUT WAS UNPREPARED FOR HIS PARTY'S REACTION. DULZIN FORESAW TROUBLE IF BEGIN MADE THE AFFAIR AN ISSUE OF HIS LEADERSHIP.

5. DULZIN SAID THAT THE ATMOSPHERE AT THE MEETING WITH THE DMC ON MAY 24 HAD BEEN GOOD AND THE TALKS HAD GONE WELL. FOREIGN POLICY WAS THE ONLY AREA OF CONTENTION BETWEEN THE TWO PARTIES. THEY SAW THE

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ISSUE BOILING DOWN TO 4 POINTS, AND ESSENTIAL AGREEMENT HAD BEEN REACHED ON ALL BUT ONE:

A. THE DYNAMICS OF PEACE: THE LIKUD WILL DECLARE ITS READINESS TO GO TO GENEVA AND WILL BE PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE PEACE.

B. ANNEXATION: A LIKUD GOVERNMENT WILL NOT EXTEND ISRAELI LAW TO THE WEST BANK WHILE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE ARABS ARE IN PROGRESS AND, IN ANY CASE, NOT BEFORE APPROVAL OF THE ELECTORATE. THE LATTER COMMITMENT WAS MADE NOTWITHSTANDING THE AUTHORITY ALREADY IN THE KNESSET TO EXTEND ISRAELI LAW TO OCCUPIED TERRITORIES UNDER A LAW ENACTED FOLLOWING THE SIX DAY WAR.

C. ONLY SETTLEMENTS AUTHORIZED BY THE GOVERNMENT WILL BE COUNTENANCED. WHEN I ASKED WHETHER THIS MEANT THAT UNAUTHORIZED SETTLEMENTS WOULD BE FORCIBLY RE-

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MOVED, DULZIN REPLIED THAT SETTLEMENTS WILL NOT BE
FOUNDED WITHOUT LIKUD PERMISSION. "THEY (GUSH
EMUNIM) ARE OUR PEOPLE."
D. JORDAN RIVER--SECURITY FRONTIER OR POLITICAL
FRONTIER: HERE WAS THE MAIN AREA OF DISAGREEMENT.
DULZIN SAID THAT THE DIFFERENCE WAS REALLY ACADEMIC.
NO ARAB GOVERNMENT HAS ACCEPTED THE JORDAN AS EVEN
ISRAEL'S SECURITY BORDER. HE MAINTAINED, MOREOVER,
THAT THIS CONCEPT IS OUTMODED. ISRAELI TROOPS ON
"FOREIGN" SOIL WOULD BE TOLERATED NO MORE THAN 2 OR 3 YEARS.

6. DULZIN WAS SHARPLY CRITICAL OF ISRAEL'S FAILURE
TO PRESENT THE PALESTINE PROBLEM IN WHAT HE SAID
WERE ITS TRUE DIMENSIONS. THE ARABS HAVE BLOWN UP
AND DISTORTED THE ISSUE AND THE LIKUD GOVERNMENT WILL
ATTEMPT TO SET THE RECORD STRAIGHT. FOR EXAMPLE:
HE ASSERTED THAT MOST PALESTINIAN ARABS ARE THE
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CHILDREN AND GRANDCHILDREN OF IMMIGRANTS FROM SYRIA, EGYPT AND IRAQ WHO MIGRATED TO PALESTINE WITH THE ADVENT OF ZIONIST SETTLEMENT AND THE RESULTANT ECONOMIC BOOM. DULZIN REPEATEDLY RETURNED TO THE THEME THAT THE PALESTINIANS ALREADY HAVE A HOMELAND. AL WHO LIVE IN WHAT WAS THE PALESTINE MANDATE--CIS-JORDAN AND TRANS-JORDAN--ARE PALESTINIANS. JORDAN IS THE HOMELAND OF THE ARAB PALESTINIANS. THEY ONLY QUESTION IS WHERE TO DRAW THE FRONTIER. THE JORDAN RIVER IS A FAIR DIVISION; ANYTHING LESS FOR ISRAEL WOULD MAKE IT DEFENSELESS AND INVITE WAR. JORDAN IS 3 1/2 TIMES THE SIZE OF WESTERN PALESTINE AND IF IT IS NOW MOSTLY DESERT, SO WAS ISRAEL BEFORE ZIONIST SETTLEMENT. IN BIBLICAL TIMES THE AREA EAST OF THE JORDAN RIVER WAS ISRAEL'S GRANARY.

7. DULZIN WAS UNIMPRESSED WITH "THE DEMOGRAPHIC PROBLEM." BEFORE 1947, 650,000 JEWS WERE PREPARED TO FOUND A JEWISH STATE IN A COUNTRY CONTAINING 1,300,000 ARABS. THOSE WHO RECOIL FROM AN ISRAEL EMBRACING THE WEST BANK FOR FEAR OF AN ARAB MAJORITY HAVE LOST THE ZIONIST VISION. DULZIN EXPECTS INCREASED IMMIGRATION AND AN ISRAEL EVENTUALLY OF 6 MILLION JEWS. HE WELCOMED A LARGE ARAB MINORITY. IT WILL PROVIDE A BRIDGE FOR ISRAEL'S PEACEFUL INTEGRATION INTO THE MIDDLE EAST.

8. THE POSITION OF THE ALIGNMENT AND THE LIKUD WERE REALLY NOT THAT FAR APART. THE ALIGNMENT HAS ITS ALLON PLAN, WHICH NO ARAB HAS ACCEPTED; BUT STAKING OUT THIS POSITION BEFOREHAND, WHICH ENTAILS THE RETURN OF MOST OF THE WEST BANK, WAS A BAD NEGOTIATING STRATEGY. HERE DULZIN HINTED AT SOME GIVE IN THE LIKUD'S DEMAND FOR THE WHOLE OF THE WEST BANK; THE IMPLICATION WAS THAT ALL OF THE WEST BANK WAS THE LIKUD'S MAXIMUM DEMAND, FROM WHICH IT COULD RETREAT IN THE COURSE OF NEGOTIATIONS.

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9. AS FOR GENEVA, THE MAIN ISSUE WILL BE PEACE. ONLY WHEN THAT IS SETTLED WILL THE QUESTION OF BORDERS BECOME RELEVANT. ALTHOUGH REMINDED THAT THE ARABS REVERSE THE PRIORITIES OF THE TWO SUBJECTS, DULZIN WOULD NOT BUDGE FROM THIS FORMULATION. WITHOUT THE ASSURANCE OF REAL PEACE, ISRAEL CANNOT DISCUSS NEW BORDERS. HE ALSO STRESSED THAT ASIDE FROM THE 2 PERCENT WHO VOTED SHELLI (AND DISREGARDING THE COMMUNISTS), NO ISRAELI WILL ACCEPT A RETURN TO THE 1967 LINES. PRESSURE TOWARD SUCH A WITHDRAWAL WILL ONLY RESULT IN ISRAELIS DIGGING IN FOR THE CONFRONTATION.

10. DULZIN IS A DELIGHTFUL CONVERSATIONALIST. HE
OBVIOUSLY SHARES THE MAINSTREAM LIKUD FOREIGN POLICY
VIEWS, WHICH HE ARGUES ENGAGINGLY. BUT HE IS LIGHTLY
REGARDED BY MOST ISRAELIS, WHO WITH UNCONSCIOUS
PATERNALISM REFER TO HIM AS "THE MEXICAN." THE DAYAN
AFFAIR SHOWS THAT HE HAS A HIGHLY EXAGGERATED SENSE
OF HIS RELATIVE WEIGHT IN LIKUD RANKS.
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